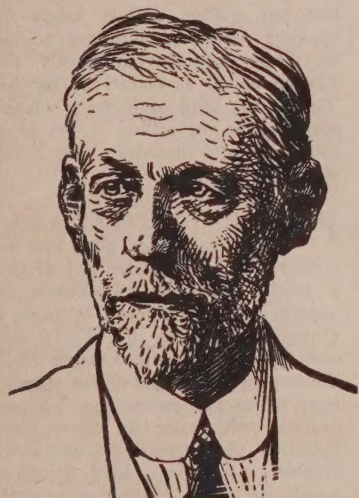


THE WORLD

Vol. XVI
No. 4

TOMORROW



J.S. WOODSWORTH

CANADA MOVES LEFT

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Unbalance the Budget

COLEMAN B. CHENEY

The Indian Drama

H. N. BRAILSFORD

JANUARY 25th/33

10 cents a copy, \$3.00 a year

CUCK-COUP D'ETAT

Devere Allen

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Ex Cathedra

THE controversy between President Hoover and M. Laval on the exact nature of their gentlemen's agreement shows how dangerous such agreements are in international relations. Whether the Hoover or the Laval version is the correct one, the point which is obvious is that Hoover recognized the necessity of a debt policy which the American people would not sanction. He tried to bridge the gap between the need of the hour and the lack of recognition of that need by the American people by qualified promises which he hoped to redeem when his reelection would give him greater freedom from popular prejudice. His defeat spoiled that plan.

There was nothing particularly dishonest about his policy, but it was less than candid. It would have required rare courage to have been candid. He would have been under the necessity of throwing the debt issue into the campaign. That is rather much to expect of a politician seeking reelection. Furthermore, Mr. Hoover would have had no success in convincing the American people that the public debts ought to be reduced as long as he could give no guarantee that such a reduction would not be used by the bankers to facilitate the collection of their private debts. He was therefore in a serious embarrassment, to which the whole structure of our present economic system contributed. Only superhuman courage (or super-political courage) could have extricated him from it; and even a venture in courage might well have resulted in defeat. Since he was defeated anyway, one rather wishes that he had made the venture and robbed his defeat of its pathetic character by giving it thus a slight touch of nobility.

MY unscientific mind fails to grasp why the Technocrats are placing so much emphasis upon the price system as the root of our evils. What they are really attacking is the credit system. They are saying that it is impossible to pay interest and dividends on the tremendous

debt loan which modern industry carries without creating such an inequality of wealth distribution that the workers cannot buy the goods which they produce. The Technocrats are proving that our present property system is incompatible with the necessities of mass production. Why don't they say that more clearly? Are they trying to be pedagogical?

MR. MAX WINKLER pointed out to the Senate banking committee that Kreuger and Toll stockholders in America lost ten million dollars when American bankers permitted Kreuger to substitute worthless Jugoslavian bonds for good French bonds as collateral for his loans. This is the kind of honesty which is supposed to be imperilled if the government should go into business under a scheme of social ownership.

PRESIDENT BUTLER has come out with a five-point plan for world recovery. The five points are disarmament, a world economic conference, debt and reparations settlement, entrance of the United States into the World Court and cooperation with the League of Nations. That program is good for about 10 percent of world recovery. The other 90 percent will have to come from more rigorous measures than any which Dr. Butler envisages. The chief of these would be a cancellation of a very considerable portion of all private debts so that interest rates would no longer devour the income of the American people and leave them with only 50 percent of the national income for their sustenance. Of course it is impossible to get such a cancellation. It would require sacrifices on the part of the owners of property which they are not prepared to make. As a substitute we will probably get inflation. The tragedy of our situation is that the self-interest of the few prevents us from getting what is most necessary for our common salvation.

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Filipinos: We Apologize

By a vote so narrow that it could not be forecast except by the veriest guesswork, the Senate has over-ridden President Hoover's veto of the Hawes-Cutting bill for Philippine independence.

From the beginning of the present agitation for Philippine freedom our official procedure has been characterized by the most disgraceful cant. The shameful handling of this issue has not been confined to any single faction. Proponents of the bill all too frequently have been animated by sordid motives, caring hardly one whit about the fulfillment of our long-standing pledge to the Filipinos and thinking of turning the Islands loose primarily in order that certain American agricultural interests might benefit. The bill itself is a mixture of anti-imperialist sentiment and reactionary high-tariff economics. Not only, under its terms, do we attach strings to the "freedom" which we supposedly grant, but we take ten years to sever the ties, after what is already justifiably viewed by the Filipinos as an unconscionably long time.

Nevertheless, knowing what the United States Senate is, and aware of the House's long service to sectional interests, we have hoped that the measure would go through. Like many of the Philippine leaders, who were themselves divided on the proper strategy, it has been our belief that between now and the time when the tariff measures in the bill would become too hurtful to the well-being of the Filipinos, modification of the program might be reasonably anticipated. At least, it has seemed wise to exert the pressure of this entering wedge for liberty.

Perhaps, however, the most sordid aspect of the affair has been the attitude of President Hoover and his quartet of handy men, who have sought to utilize the indubitably bad features of the bill as an excuse further to perpetuate American rule. It is incredible that Mr. Stimson should take the course of threatening the Islands with annexation by another power as a reason for our own occupation; or to imply that unless we maintain our grip on the territory against the well-known desires of the inhabitants themselves, we shall lose "prestige" in the East! If that is the only way we can keep our prestige, the sooner we lose it the better for the world. Speaking through Mr. Hurley, too, were all the militaristic and imperialistic traditions of the last 30 years. No wonder that Senators Borah and Norris, at first inclined to wait for a better bill, finally decided that it was a case of choosing between a selfish

measure sicklied o'er by pious sentiment, and a still more blatant assertion of unselfish altruism which was obviously nothing but the thinnest veneer laid over the plain, old-fashioned big-stick philosophy of national interest.

To the Filipinos we can only frankly declare our shame, and pledge the unremitting labors of millions of freedom-loving and sincere anti-imperialists of this country, until a true independence is established and our record made as clean as possible.

Japan Goes Too Far

Japanese armies, equipped with bombing planes and field guns, may be marching into Jehol; but perhaps at last her militarists have overstepped the final bounds of ruthlessness. For although, as we go to press, the ultimate disposition of the Manchurian problem has still to be decided, there are strong indications that by their latest evidences of cynicism, the Japanese imperialist leaders have alienated the easy-going governments of the larger Powers. It so happened that the attack on Shanhaikwan, where Great Britain has considerable interests at stake, coincided with the momentous announcement by Secretary of State Stimson that the United States government remained firm in its previous policy of non-recognition of territories violated in contradiction of treaties. When the government apparently took pains through its foreign diplomatic representatives to notify League Powers of its stand, and when President-elect Roosevelt furthermore backed up the Stimson view, it became impossible for the League to ignore the demands of those who have all along insisted on stigmatizing Japanese policy as having broken Japan's pledged word.

When strong motives of self-interest combined with an obvious effort of Japanese reactionaries to show their contempt for world opinion, and the small nations in the Assembly asserted their critical attitude toward the shiftless methods of Britain and France, it was harder than before to sit back calmly and find plausible reasons for letting affairs drift on. Besides, China had made it plain that unless some effective mobilization of world opinion at least places upon Japan the major responsibility for the Manchurian embroglio, she would in all probability abandon her desultory military efforts and enter upon open warfare as vigorous as she is capable of waging. This, again, would jeopardize British and American interests in China, and conceivably even bring new dangers to French prestige in Indo-China.

That both France and Great Britain have been permitting substantial profits to their arms factories through shipments to Japan and China, is widely known; and, conservative politicians being what they so often are, there may be reason to fear that the pro-Japanese attitude of such men as Sir John Simon—who is himself an owner of munitions stock—derives from so despicable a motive. And yet, the heavy responsibility involved in a strictly legalistic handling of Japan are admittedly enough to make one pause. Pacifists themselves are in disagreement as to the degree of coercion which might prudently be employed to back up a stern refusal to tolerate Japan's invasion. But there may, and must, be agreement that nothing whatever can be gained by whitewashing such a flagrant defiance of treaties, such a mockery of the best opinion of the world, as is increasingly evidenced by Japan. To say that we, too, have been guilty, is to speak truth; but the historic excuse can become as baseless as any other. It must be hoped that by the time our readers are in possession of this issue, news may have come through signifying, not a surrender to expediency, but an assertion of international non-compromise with wrong in the councils at Geneva.

Stalin Trusts Stalin

We may be wrong, but we fancy that we have noted a cooling off, in recent weeks, of that unqualified ardor over Soviet Russia which has marked so many American liberals. This is undoubtedly due to the disillusionment over the failure of the Five Year Plan to accomplish all that it set out to do. But those who have been, not uncritical, but thoughtful in assessing the Russian experiment are likely to marvel that in so short a time, working under such extraordinary handicaps, so much has been achieved.

Particularly will the mechanical advances in specific fields be of utility in advancing the program of collectivization. One of the great weaknesses of the Soviet program has been the socialization of the farms; the harsh drive against the *kulaks*, or wealthy farmers, has had to be modified more than once, and so has the program with respect to small cattle raisers. But with 12,446 machine tractor stations in the country, equipped with 120,000 tractors, the means of a new drive toward agricultural collectivization are not lacking. And it is to be expected that the announced programs of pushing ahead on the land sector will be followed up with vigorous action.

If there have been those who thought that Stalin himself might become discouraged and ease off in his radical ideas, they must have read with a shock the Communist leader's speech of January 7, before his party chiefs. In this address of profound strategic importance Stalin did indeed acknowledge that in subsequent planning it would be necessary to lessen the

emphasis on speed and to underscore the satisfaction of immediate human needs. But he stoutly defended the harsh discipline and speed-up policies of the years just passed, and outlined a program for catching up loose ends and consolidating the gains thus far made. He was unbending, moreover, in adherence to the strict aims of collectivization he has long supported; and his words have been taking practical effect in a great "house-cleaning" to remove from Communist councils those who would modify the rigorous schemes to which the Stalinites have set their hands.

The one blind spot in the Stalin outlook, which seems strangely persistent, is his inability to understand human psychology as well as economic doctrine. For the staggering labor turnover, of which the government has had to take lugubrious cognizance, is due, it seems to us, most of all to that quite unnecessary regimentation of inflexible discipline which has never in the past, and can never be in the future, an accompaniment of the maximum social progress.

If We Follow Blind Leaders

Shortly before his death, Calvin Coolidge accorded an interview to Henry L. Stoddard of the *New York Sun*. In the course of this conversation the former President made some remarks which not only reveal his own stature, but which serve also to throw a flood of illumination upon the failure of leadership during these tragic days. Said the former Chief Executive:

When I read of the new-fangled things that are so popular now I realize that my time in public affairs is past. I wouldn't know how to handle them if I were called upon to do so. That is why I am through with public life forever. . . . We are in a new era to which I do not belong, and it would not be possible for me to adjust myself to it.

In other sentences Mr. Coolidge summarized the policies upon which he had relied and expressed an opinion as to the supreme need of the hour. To catch the significance of these words one must recall that President Coolidge was in office during the period when this country experienced its wildest orgy of stock gambling and rushed most recklessly toward the precipice. Listen and understand:

Up in Plymouth, you know, you are pretty well out of the currents. I have been out of touch so long with political activities that I feel I no longer fit in with all that is going on. Great changes can come in four years. These socialistic notions of government are not of my day. When I was in office *tax reduction, debt reduction, tariff stability and economy* [italics ours] were the things to which I gave attention. We succeeded on those lines. . . . These new ideas call for new men to develop them. That task is not for men who believe in the only kind of government I know anything about. . . . The big thing this country stands most in need of just now is economy.

Economy! Economy at a moment when many wheels of industry are motionless because of an inef-

fective demand for goods, and when spending is urgently required if the volume of unemployment is to be diminished. The generation of Calvin Coolidge was trained to think in terms of scarcity and found itself completely bewildered by an economy of plenty. Men of that age were nourished upon concepts which emerged from a situation in which demand for commodities vastly exceeded the available supply. They grew up in an environment which offered individualism its maximum opportunity, and they came from a stock which incarnated in the highest degree the virtues of the competitive system. Consequently they found it literally impossible to understand the problems created by industrialization and urbanization.

The present situation would be much less perilous if all members of that generation would follow the example of Mr. Coolidge in saying frankly that they do not understand and cannot fit into the new environment, and therefore would withdraw from active control of business and politics. Unfortunately, however, these are the men in whose hands is now concentrated illimitable power over their fellows. Blind leaders of the blind become even more uncertain in their movements when they do not realize that they are sightless, but on the contrary imagine themselves to be the only reflectors of light.

The fundamental theories and practices of individualism—the motivation of self-interest, the method of competition, the private ownership of the major means of production and distribution, the private control of banking and credit, and the dogma of non-interference with business by government—have been invalidated by the mass production of technology, the passing of the frontier, the pressure of population upon resources and the increasing interdependence of peoples, the deepening menace of anarchy in production and distribution, and the increasing destructiveness of class hostilities and international warfare. To continue building upon the foundations of individualism is to guarantee the collapse of our civilization. Yet that is just what the present holders of privilege and power are resolved to do. As a Western banker expressed it, after a disillusioning series of conferences in the East: "Those New York bankers are determined to have an orthodox funeral."

Less Government in Business?

The highways of the land are spotted with blood as a result of the cut-throat competition between buses and railways, and between various bus companies. The rate from Chicago to Detroit has been slashed to \$1.50 for the 370 miles. The 250 miles from Boston to New York may be covered for the same rate. A passenger may travel by rail or by bus from Portland to Seattle for \$2.50 one way, or \$4 for the round trip. Legitimate bus operators are complaining bitterly that "share expense" private cars are ruining their trade,

as between New York and Chicago, where they must meet a rate of \$9 for a 27 hour trip. "The only solution for all this, say well-established bus companies, is federal regulation." In a land of rugged individualism!

Not long ago, when a prominent railway executive was being examined before the Coolidge committee, of which Mr. Legge is a member, the following colloquy occurred, according to a report in *The Business Week*:

In a matter-of-fact tone Mr. Legge makes a startling suggestion: "How about giving railroads a fair chance at competition by ending restrictions on railroad operation?"

For a moment the witness is silent with open mouth.

"Why," he says recovering, "the whole rate structure is set up to preserve the balance between regions and localities. The selfish interests of the railroads are such that, if there were no regulation, complete chaos would result in respect to rates."

"Don't you think they could stand it?" insists Mr. Legge.

"No, I don't," the answer is instantaneous and emphatic. Mr. Legge examines the nail of an index finger. Government control. Government in business.

When Confronted with Cataclysm

So grave is the possibility that our banking and credit system will collapse utterly within the near future, with resultant chaos in industry and commerce, that the question of socialist strategy must be raised. There is, of course, the possibility that the incoming administration will resort to emergency measures of a hypodermic nature. If these injections are not given or if they fail to revive the sinking patient, we will soon be confronted with an altogether desperate situation.

It may be said bluntly that in the event of an early collapse of the productive and distributive system in this country, radicals would not be able to seize power and utilize the occasion for the establishment of a communist or a socialist society. To believe that the Communist Party will be strong enough within the immediate future to carry through a violent seizure of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to lose oneself in high clouds of wishful thinking. Moreover, no realistic Socialist deludes himself into believing that his party will be able to assume power during the next few years. If we are engulfed by a cataclysm, the American people will turn to the Right for rescue and deliverance and will establish some form of emergency control by bankers and industrialists.

For Socialists at this time to concentrate upon the preparation of a course of action appropriate for a catastrophic collapse of Capitalism would, therefore, be the height of folly. Three tasks should consume the energies of Socialists during these momentous days: first, the awakening of public opinion to the necessity of drastic emergency measures; second, continued em-

phasis upon the significance of a long-range socialist program; and, third, renewed efforts to strengthen the organization of workers, consumers, and voters into active and effective units.

If time is to be gained during which the rapidly progressive inauguration of socialism is to be made possible, drastic emergency measures must be quickly taken. A minimum program requires the appropriation of at least a billion dollars of Federal funds for unemployment relief, a Federal subsidy of the same size for farm relief, controlled inflation to the extent of at least two billion dollars, and a Federal bond issue of several billions for the purpose of financing a vast program of slum clearance, municipal housing and other socially productive enterprises. If several billion dollars could thus be pumped into circulation among the destitute consumers of the country, there is reason to believe that the wheels of industry would start moving and a breathing spell would be gained. Socialists would do well, therefore, to exert themselves vigorously in behalf of these emergency measures, but under no circumstances should they diminish their activities in behalf of a comprehensive and long-range socialist program.

The Yellow Man's Burden

Imperialism has always been justified in the name of idealism. In explaining the extension of his sway over the earth, the white man has rarely admitted that he was motivated by greed. On the contrary, a high sense of duty has impelled him to share the benefits of his civilization with the lesser breeds without the law. The average citizen would never have fought in distant climes for such sordid commodities as rubber and iron and oil, but patriots by the thousands have died in the glorious adventure of bearing the white man's burden.

So blinding are the emotions of patriotism that imperialists have never realized just how their utterances and actions have appeared to the unwilling victims of their beneficence. A keen sense of humor has never been one of the creations of nationalism, with the result that the saccharine sentimentality of invaders has been cloaked with deadly solemnity.

Nevertheless, nothing is easier than for the imperialists of one land to pierce through the shams of a competitor in the world arena. Citizens of the United States have therefore been indulging in articulate hilarity over Yosuke Matsuoka's interpretation of Japan's divine objectives, as expressed to a correspondent of the *New York Times*. We challenge our readers to keep a straight face as they peruse the following paragraph:

Japan's mission is to lead the world spiritually and intellectually. . . . We do not take. We are in a position to give. . . . Our occupation of Manchuria is not a question of 'taking' Manchuria in a military sense, or of taking anything away from Manchuria in a moral sense. It is Japan who

is giving Manchuria precious principles of self-development, progress and spirituality. This melting-pot of Asia, where meet and mingle Japanese, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Koreans, Siberians and Russians, Red and White, one day may be able to save the whole of China. . . . We in Japan would do a very great deal to help China toward peace and unification . . . we want to inspire and educate Manchuria in high, humanitarian and spiritual principles. We hope that Manchuria will be a beacon to Asia. . . . Japan can offer spirituality to America and the entire Western World. Japan, I am convinced, will be the cradle of a new Messiah. This Messiah will be a Japanese priest, who will interpret the Sermon on the Mount in terms of Hindu philosophy. . . . We must be strong for the sake of our ideals.

Between chuckles, however, be sure to raise the question: What people, of all dwellers on this globe, have most frequently covered over their slimy greed with the intoxicating froth of romanticism?

Let the Books Be Audited

The airing of the Kreuger scandal before the Senate Finance Committee has drawn further attention to the need of investors for greater security. Not only was that gentleman successful in falsifying balance sheets and forging pretended assets, but he replaced with poorer securities those which had been originally designated as the assets for the debenture bonds. To our mind Mr. George May, of Price, Waterhouse and Company, misses the point when he declares that because Kreuger was such a fantastic crook no moral can be drawn from his case about the necessity for public protection. The Insull case gives every evidence of being almost as bad as that of Kreuger, and there have been a host of other unsavory transactions. Apparently we cannot trust our investment bankers, for they are frequently as naïve and stupid as the firm which acted for Kreuger in this country, and sometimes they seem to be "in cahoots" with the manipulators themselves. The very barest minimum of protection should include periodic public audits by outside firms whose duty would lie in the protection of third parties, and both company managers and auditors should be held criminally liable for any misleading reports. In England, where such a law exists, Lord Kylsant was sentenced to prison in 1931 for misstatements in a circular seeking new capital, and a distinguished auditor, who incidentally was a leading pacifist, was brought within the shadow of conviction. Although we believe that it is the capitalistic system itself which breaks down men's characters, we confess to a feeling that a good dose of imprisonment would be an excellent punishment for some of our lately-respected financial buccaneers. But we do not expect to see that dose administered in a society where wealth has such power as it has in ours, and where great financial interests hush matters up in order that their own dirty linen may not be aired.

The New Farm Magic

THE domestic allotment bill which is now before Congress is the latest in a series of measures which have been designed to give to the farmers some of the advantages which the manufacturers have been able to obtain through the tariff. On commodities of which there is an export surplus, such as cotton, tobacco, lard, wheat, etc., a tariff does not help the producers and is merely political buncombe, designed to get the votes of the deluded. That American farm products can compete on even terms in Europe with the products of other countries is virtually a proof that they do not need protection in order to hold their home market with its lower transportation costs.

The McNary-Haugen and the export debenture plans were designed to bring agriculture in under the protective system. Both of these measures aimed to increase the quantity of those products which were exported in order to realize an appreciably higher total price from the smaller total quantity sold at home. The demand for these products is so inelastic that had the quantity of wheat sold at home decreased by one-sixth, the price per bushel would in all likelihood have increased by at least one-half. This would have given an increase in total domestic revenue of between 25 and 30 percent, which would have compensated for the lower prices received from the goods sold abroad and yielded a very appreciable increase in net income to the farmers. The increase would, to be sure, have come out of the pockets of the consumers, but this was declared to be only poetic justice, repaying the manufacturers for having had their hands for decades in the pockets of the farmers.

These measures were prevented from becoming law by the vetoes of President Coolidge and the opposition of President Hoover. The reasons which were adduced for the opposition on the part of these gentlemen and of the interests behind them were in general sophistical and, in view of their adherence to the tariff, highly inconsistent. But at least three sound objections could have been raised by sincere friends of the farmers: (1) In the first place, the method chosen was the wrong way to accomplish a worthy end. The best way of giving agriculture substantial equality with manufacturing would be to remove the tariff from the latter. (2) The initially higher prices received by the farmers would cause them to expand their acreage and thus continually to increase the quantity which must be exported in order to maintain the domestic price. The growing losses on the export trade would finally swallow the major portion of the gains made at home. (3) Foreign governments would

not rest easy at this increased dumping of farm products upon them at a lower price than that at which they were sold at home and would seek to protect their farmers by countervailing duties which would be approximately equal to the amount of the export bonus. This would prevent any real increase in exports and hence would not raise the income of the farmers.

The domestic allotment plan has been devised to meet the last two of these difficulties. The prices of goods in the domestic market are not to be raised by draining off more goods for abroad but by imposing a tax upon all domestic processors of the given agricultural products, such as the millers, packers, etc. These sums are then to be distributed among the farmers who conform to the agreement. In return for all this there is to be a reduction in acreage which, although somewhat indefinite now, was originally designed to be about 20 percent. These reductions are to be effected state by state, and county by county, and farm by farm, with the enforcement in so far as possible in the hands of the farmers themselves. Not only is this arrangement aimed to prevent the increase in production which would probably have taken place under the other plans but also to lessen the irritation which foreign countries would otherwise feel. For since less of these goods are to be produced than before, even though the domestic consumption will decline somewhat, the main reduction will occur in the field of exports. This fall in exports will cause European prices to rise slightly, and hence there will be no good reason for the European farmers to demand added protection against American dumping. Should this occur, however, it is expected that it can be headed off by having the Roosevelt administration, through its "bargaining powers," make concessions on some of our manufacturing tariffs in return for favors on the agricultural end.

The domestic allotment is therefore an intelligent effort to improve the farmers' position within the existing framework of nationalistic and tariff prejudices. We still believe that it is inferior to free trade both as a political and an economic measure, since it will increase national self-sufficiency, and hence nationalism, and because it will not realize the broad advantages of the international division of labor. We also believe that it will be worthless as a means of helping us to get out of the depression, since all it will do will be to transfer purchasing power from the consumers to the farmers without creating the additional purchasing power which seems to be needed to break our present vicious deadlock. But it may be said that it is the best type of farm relief which the present system of special privilege can be expected to produce.



as Brailsford sees it

DO not in India look for drama, unless, indeed, you have first discarded the prejudice of our hemisphere that drama means action.

There is a little play of Maeterlinck's which one might compare with the piece now set on the Indian stage. A mute character is the focus of interest: he neither speaks nor moves; yet the drama has an almost intolerable intensity. So is this vast peninsula a stage that sets itself around the motionless figure of Gandhi. He squats gagged on his mat in prison, and to his unspoken thoughts the action moves. He is out of politics, and the whole force of his will is bent on achieving the social unity of India. He has succeeded in breaking the wall that banished the untouchables from Hindu society.

The vote of the inhabitants of a backward region in Malabar, which yielded a 75 per cent majority for the admission of these outcasts to the peculiarly holy temple of Guruvayoor, proves that Gandhi has the people with him. The wall is breached at least and doomed to crumble, though in this land of survivals its ruins may cumber the ground, here and there for a generation. Already the most famous temples in the sacred city of Benares are open, and caste itself is decaying with startling rapidity. I need not emphasise again the significance of the pact reached at Allahabad between Moslems and Hindus for the ending of their political separation and the creation of joint electorates. There are, indeed, numerous dissenters among the loyalist, conservative Moslems and, as one foresaw, the Government will ignore the agreement. It has, none the less, brought the masses of the two creeds together. India is more nearly united than she has been for many a long year. The conditions which made an alien empire possible in this peninsula are changing under our eyes.

This is the background against which one must place the Round Table Conference, which has now completed its third and last session in London. History has no parallel to this singular institution. As an act of creation it must be the most leisurely on record. Spun over three years, it has not even now completed in detail its outline of India's future constitution. The architects in this long interval have changed more than once the sketch of their ground plan. The first conception was a brilliant if cynical inspiration. Faced by

The Indian Drama

the unexpected success of the outbreak of civil disobedience in 1930, the best imperial brains hit upon a really sagacious device for conceding na-

tional self-government without danger. They brought in the princes to redress the balance against democracy. So long as the unit for the experiment of responsible parliamentary government was conceived as British India, Mr. MacDonald and Lord Reading, with the elder statesmen and the higher bureaucracy might have hesitated to go much further than Sir John Simon did: they would have conceded provincial autonomy and left "the Centre" as it is. The audacious new idea was to bring in the princes and create a federation of All-India. This looked incomparably more national, more final, more imposing, yet it promised to hold the real danger in check.

THAT, from the imperial standpoint, is Hindu democracy, restless, radical, militant, with Congress as its incarnation. The princes seemed an ideal make-weight: Conservatives by tradition and position, autocrats in their own domains, contemptuous for the most part of the entire liberal philosophy of civil rights and popular representation, they are, moreover, the disciplined vassals of the Viceroy and the British Crown. Give them (with no nonsense about popular election) one-third of the seats in the All-India Parliament, assign another third to the Moslems penned off in their separate electorate, make two Houses to check one another, confine the franchise to a narrow property basis, and need one take the danger from the Hindu nationalist democracy very seriously? Had the Empire really trusted this cynical invention it might have conceded full responsibility without risk. It need not even have withheld finance and the army. This ultra-conservative constitution was all the "safeguard" that a shrewd statesmanship need have demanded. Property and order would have been as safe in the hands of this aristocratic assembly as human foresight can ever make them. Some viceroys, Lord Irwin and even Lord Curzon, have been much more radical than such a Parliament could ever be. It meant the rule of riches and birth, and it meant perpetual division. These princes, moreover, have the merit of looking like Indians: they have brown skins.

THE cynics were not bold enough to trust their invention. Not content with creating a Parliament which can by its composition do nothing unseemly, they have loaded it with safeguards. On limbs incapable of motion they must needs hang fetters. The result is that an ingenious simulacrum of national self-government no longer deceives. India thinks with such concentration about her national problem, and is as yet so little aware of her class divisions, that she would have accepted any constitution that seemed to free any sort of brown assembly from white diction. But the constitution which has emerged from the final sittings of the Round Table deceives no Indian, not even the few candidates for office who wish to be deceived. To a period of partial tutelage, Indian opinion, if it had been adroitly handled, might have reconciled itself. But this constitution sets no definable or predictable limit to the period of transition, and during the long vague interval there is no field in the whole range of government over which the All-India Parliament will be effectively sovereign.

India will have, indeed, a Premier and some Ministers, authentically Indian and responsible to Houses elected in part by the upper strata of her population, nominated in part by the princes. But foreign policy and the army, under irresponsible Ministers, are "reserved" subjects, which Parliament may discuss but cannot influence by its vote. It lies with the Viceroy to make peace and war, nor can India fix the size, cost or composition of her army. Though "instructions" will be given to the Viceroy tending towards the gradual Indianisation of the army (a process which the High Command may be willing to complete within a quarter of a century), Parliament will have over this vital operation neither control nor the power to speed it up.

Finance presents the most depressing prospect. The debt, the army and the salaries and pensions of the Civil Service are fixed charges which the nominally responsible Finance Minister may not touch. That leaves to his discretion only a modest fraction of his budget, at the figures of today perhaps 15 percent. Nor is this all. Over currency and monetary policy Parliament will have no control: these are the sphere of a Reserve Bank to be created under a Governor appointed by the Viceroy, who will, of course, be an Englishman. The intention is manifestly to make this Indian Central Bank a dependency of the Bank of England. Finally, over the modest range of free choice that remains to the Finance Minister hangs the general supervision of the Viceroy, who may veto any of his measures if in his opinion they may endanger India's credit. The necessity for this precaution was explained to the Indian delegates in an official audience at the Bank of England. The Viceroy will have overriding powers to ensure order and to protect minori-

ties, but this general control over finance is the most significant, as it is the most deeply resented, of the safeguards. It means that in the last resort India is not a nation, but a field for the placing of British capital. The final test to which the policy of her government must submit is that it shall serve the interest and merit the confidence of these investors. Nothing has changed in substance since the East India Company vanished. This peninsula is still a province of the City of London.

THIS is clumsy imperialism, nicely designed to hit India in its sorest spot, its sense of racial dignity. It sees only what is withheld at the centre and remains unmoved by the much more liberal provisions for the provincial autonomy. The Round Table Conference, which represented in the end only a diminished remnant of India's moderates, has closed without even their assent. The ablest of them, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru pleads in a tone of dejection for "more trust" in India's good sense. He may plead again, probably with no better result, before the committee at Westminster that will consider the draft bill.

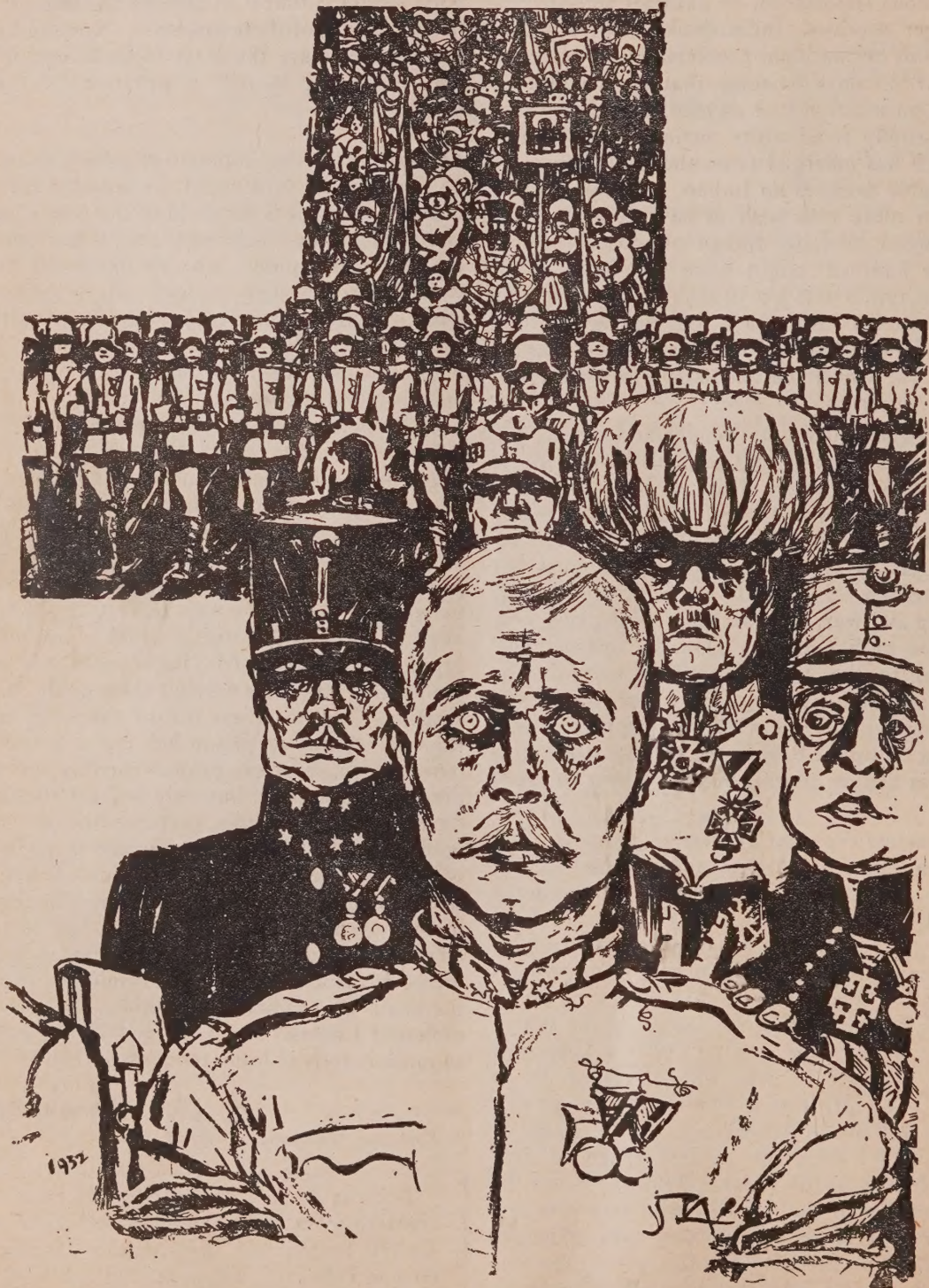
But it would require a more dynamic and influential personality to secure from the broad mass of Indian opinion a readiness even to discuss this constitution. No discussion is possible while Gandhi remains in prison, nor would anything less than a general amnesty, to which it seems the bureaucracy is firmly opposed, avail to soften the hostility which a year of unlimited repression has aroused. Its severity has so far succeeded that Congress rarely risks a public mass demonstration. The merciless use of the *lathi*, much more than the threat of prison has had a certain effect of intimidation. The exceptional coercive ordinances will presently disappear, but only because their provisions have now been written permanently into the statute book. Yet the spine of this people is not broken, nor is Congress shaken in its leadership. If ever this constitution comes into operation it must be imposed, and in that event, if Congress has the wit to contest the elections instead of boycotting them, it may become, in the provinces at least, a formidable instrument in the hands of a militant opposition. To give so little is useless if England hopes for India's goodwill; to give so much is folly if India remains a rebel.

H. N. Brailsford

London, January 4, 1933.

Because of the demands on his time made by research work and a scheduled lecture tour of the United States, Mr. Brailsford's articles, beginning in February, will appear in every other issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, instead of weekly as heretofore.—The Editors.

The War Resister



Drawing by Arthur Stadler in "1914-?" Used through the courtesy of the Servire Company

Canada Moves Left

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

THE Canadian reader of Professor Paul Douglas's *The Coming of a New Party* can parallel almost every statement in that volume concerning the American political situation with something similar about Canada. In 1867, when the Dominion started on its career, we retained the British names for our parties along with a good deal more of the paraphernalia of the British constitution. But our party system has long been essentially American in structure and practice.

Each of the two old parties in Canada is a loose aggregation of sectional and occupational groups. Neither has a clear-cut philosophy or policy because, being nation-wide in scope, it has to appeal to conflicting interests in different parts of the country. The groups within it remain bound together chiefly through their common desire for the spoils of office and through the control exercised by a central party machine which distributes campaign funds. The Conservatives, like the Republicans, have long been the party of big business, dominated by the industrial and financial interests of Montreal and Toronto; but just as Western American farmers vote Republican against their own interests because of loyalties that go back to the Civil War period, so thousands of good Canadian loyalists steadily vote Tory because of some vague feeling that the British flag in North America has been confided to the keeping of their party. The Liberals, like the Democrats, have been traditionally the party of the little man, and especially of the farmer. They have made their appeal to what Americans would call Jeffersonian principles and have betrayed those principles when in office. As the Democrats rely upon the Solid South, so the Liberals for a generation have relied upon a solid French Quebec; and Quebec is even more illiberal and reactionary than the South. General elections have usually consisted of elaborate sham battles over the tariff, but both parties are solidly protectionist when in office. The Liberals would hardly have raised the tariff wall to its present insane height, but they depend for their party funds upon the same industrial interests that afford financial support to the Conservatives.

Before the War third party movements were no more successful in Canada than in the United States. The social elements out of which they might have arisen seemed to be politically apathetic. Organized labor, under the influence of the A. F. of L., generally avoided political action. Such movements of protest or revolt as did arise came from the farmers and did

not carry them outside the Liberal Party. As for the intellectuals, they have never even produced a body of mugwumps in either party, and are treated with deserved contempt by all sections of the community.

The developments which at the turn of the century produced an era of political criticism and reform in the United States found no immediate parallel in Canada. We were then in the midst of the greatest boom in our history. Population was flowing in and real estate values were soaring. So we went through no muckraking period and our business leaders continued to prosper and die in the odor of sanctity. While American politics was throwing up Roosevelt and Wilson our Canadian Liberal Premier, Laurier, sat at Ottawa with his famous smile and distributed railway charters and land grants to all comers. But in 1911 the accidental chance of the reciprocity agreement revealed the existence of a serious movement of revolt against the established political mores. Canada had been steadily developing since 1867 on Hamiltonian lines, her statesmen consolidating the national structure by binding the monied and industrial interests to the national government. Now for the first time came a challenge to this system. The significance of the 1911 election was not that we rejected closer trade relations with the United States but that the campaign saw the first definite attempt to throw off the control which Montreal and Toronto had established over national policy. The attempt was a complete failure. Canadian financial, manufacturing and transportation leaders united their forces with commendable promptitude, and the incipient revolt of the farmers was crushed in a great outburst of Imperial flag-waving patriotism. But their failure in 1911 was what started Western Canadian farmers along the path that led to independent political action.

THE War had an unsettling effect upon political loyalties in general, and it was not followed in Canada as in the United States by a complete collapse into political apathy. The disruption of the Liberal Party on the question of conscription, the Winnipeg strike, and the post-War crash in agricultural prices, all helped to produce new movements. The result was that when the first post-War general election came in 1921, it saw the return to Ottawa of 65 independent farmer and labor members, more than a quarter of the membership of the House of Commons. They came mostly from the prairie provinces, though there was a strong contingent of farmer members from Ontario.

These Progressives, as they were called, were not, however, a very effective force at Ottawa. They gave a general support to the Liberal government of Mr. Mackenzie King, but they were not able to agree whether they should conceive themselves merely as the left wing of a rejuvenated Liberal party or as a completely separate independent group. They failed to use their voting power even to compel Mr. King to carry out the most important promises of his own party platform. Later elections in 1925 and 1926 reduced their numbers to less than 20. Some retired from politics and some were re-absorbed into the Liberal fold. In the end there was left a small group, which survived the Bennett election of 1930, consisting of three Labor members led by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth of Winnipeg; a dozen representatives of the United Farmers of Alberta, led by Mr. Robert Gardiner; three or four independent farmers from Saskatchewan, and Miss Agnes MacPhail, who was the sole survivor of the delegation of Ontario farmers.

In the decade after 1921 this little group of independents learned how to work together in Parliament and gradually won a position, both in the House and in the country at large, far more influential than their numbers would indicate. By general admission they are now recognized as including the hardest working and the best informed of the private members of the House. They have occasionally been able to take advantage of the political situation in order to get some particular measure of social legislation passed which neither of the old parties would have sponsored except under pressure; thus in 1926 they were able to persuade Mr. King, who was at the moment badly in need of votes, to pass an Old Age Pension Act. It was their House leader, Mr. Gardiner, who got the investigation started which uncovered the Beauharnois scandal. They are the only group in the House who take any interest in the League of Nations and the responsibilities which Canada has undertaken at Geneva.

The most important result of their experience during these years was that they learned that farmer and labor representatives can work together without friction. They found themselves the spokesmen of the two groups in the community who are most steadily exploited by our present economic system, and they became more and more convinced that the only solution of their problems was a complete reorganization of the system. All through these years they have been preaching to their fellow parliamentarians the gospel of a coöperative commonwealth as a substitute for the present chaos of capitalistic competition; they have been collecting evidence of how the concentration of economic power into the hands of a narrow group of financiers and industrialists makes a sham of the institutions of our political democracy. During the boom years this preaching fell mostly upon deaf ears inside

Parliament, but it was having its effect upon ever larger circles outside.

DURING these post-War years the most significant social and political phenomenon in Canada has undoubtedly been the development of the farm movement upon the prairies. The group of independent members at Ottawa has, in fact, been only one expression of this wider movement. The prairie wheat farmers, producing a staple commodity which has to be sold upon world markets, had already in the early 1900's shown a capacity for coöperation and organization which was unprecedented in Canada. They had combined to fight against railway and elevator monopolies and had succeeded in having the whole grain trade placed under the supervision of public authorities.

After the War they embarked upon far-reaching experiments in coöperating marketing, and built up their wheat pools, which were soon followed by pools for the marketing of coarse grains and livestock. In Alberta, which has taken the lead in most of these movements, their provincial organization, the U. F. A., went into politics and since 1921 has been continuously in control of the provincial government. More recently they have been developing movements for consumers' coöperation. Nowhere else in North America in our day has so vital or energetic a democratic movement been in operation as the one on the Canadian prairie. Naturally, because Western Canada is particularly vulnerable to world prices, all these economic experiments have been hard hit during the present depression. But the farmers have shown a remarkable loyalty to their own organizations during this period of strain.

It was with this experience behind them that the parliamentary representatives of these Western social movements decided to enter upon a fresh attempt to start a nation-wide political organization. On August 1, 1932, delegates from the various farm and labor groups of the four Western provinces met at Calgary and launched the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation. They had little difficulty in agreeing upon the broad outlines of a common program, since they were all already committed to the same general line of attack upon economic problems. Because none of them wished to sink their identity in a new party they formed a federation of existing groups. Mr. Woodsworth, the Labor leader, was chosen to head the new federation, and he and his lieutenants have since been engaged in spreading the movement to Eastern Canada. In Ontario it has taken hold with rapidity: the United Farmers of Ontario have decided to affiliate with it and most of the labor groups are joining also. East of the Ottawa River lie three provinces where penetration is much more doubtful. The Catholic Church in Quebec is opposed to any move-

ment which uses the word socialism, though it seems to be becoming increasingly suspicious of certain manifestations of capitalism in the French province. As for the three maritime provinces, politics to them still means chiefly patronage and subsidies and the building of docks.

"THE C. C. F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Coöperative Commonwealth in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs instead of the making of profits." The planks in its platform emphasize a planned system of social economy; socialization of the banking, credit and financial system of the country; social ownership, development and operation and control of public utilities and natural resources; the extension of social legislation, including insurance against accident, illness, old age and unemployment; socialization of all health services. That all its membership have fully thought out the implications of a program of this kind it would be absurd to pretend. Whether it can capture the mass of Canadian citizens in whom the traditions of rugged individualism are still strong is of course yet to be seen. But that it is a movement to be seriously reckoned with is shown by nothing so clearly as by the energy which the leaders of the old parties have been exercising in trying to discredit it. Mr. Bennett is evidently going to do his best to work up a panic among the propertied classes, and has already told his followers that these movements of socialism and communism must be crushed out by "the iron heel of ruthlessness".

The Liberal Mr. Mackenzie King has been pleading in his most honeyed accents for a union of all the "forward-looking" elements of the community under Liberal leadership, and has announced a program which gets as far forward as a central bank but still expresses solicitude for the preservation of private enterprise. But the Liberals shrewdly calculate that they can return to office at the next election upon Mr. Bennett's unpopularity; and Mr. King, like Mr. Roosevelt, will be careful in these circumstances not to commit himself to anything in particular. Past experience, indeed, has shown that the only thing to which Mr. King personally is looking forward is the opportunity to hold office again.

THERE are several factors in the Canadian situation which make a Socialist movement more hopeful of success than it can be in the United States. For one thing, the C. C. F. is a movement which starts from the bottom and gets both its voting power and its ideas from organized farmers and workmen. It is not an army officered by intellectuals and still looking for followers, as is the American Socialist Party. Then

again, Canada has never quite sunk into the despair of political action which has marked the post-War generation in the States; perhaps our continuing faith in politics as a fruitful instrument for achieving social purposes indicates a survival of British traditions in the country.

The Canadian people, moreover, have shown so marked a taste for experiments in state socialism or in coöperation that one may be sceptical whether they are as devoted to the faith of rugged individualism as they profess to be at Chamber of Commerce banquets. The Western coöperative enterprises have been already mentioned. Ontario, the Tory province *par excellence*, has its great public hydro-electric development. The Dominion owns and operates one of the two great railway systems; and it is fairly evident now that, in spite of vigorous C. P. R. propaganda backed by the friendly help of the present government, the Canadian people are wedded to this measure of public ownership in the transportation field. Most of the provinces control and operate the distribution of alcoholic liquors. The Western provinces have a publicly-operated telephone system. Within the last year the Dominion government has decided to take over the service of radio broadcasting. "Socialism without doctrines" may be a muddle-headed method of proceeding but it is of value in that it helps to furnish a basis for further action.

In the meantime the force of the depression is shaking many Canadians out of their old beliefs. Our government by its policies and attitude is assisting powerfully in the process. Faced by a catastrophe which affects all classes, but which falls with greatest severity upon farmers and workers, the Bennett government has made haste to protect from the shock of world conditions only a small favored class. Manufacturers have been given a tariff wall that is almost insurmountable to foreign imports. The banks appear to be guaranteed against every risky investment that they may make. The C. P. R. is loaned money by the government without interest. But the Dominion authorities, who are now the only body with the financial resources necessary to handle the appalling relief problem, hesitate to accept responsibility for it and pass the burden to provinces and municipalities which cannot meet it. When deputations of the unemployed call upon the Prime Minister they are received with calculated and brutal discourtesy. Leading Communists who have been guilty of no overt act of disorder are jailed, and their party is outlawed as a criminal organization. Never before have we had in Canada a government which was so nakedly a class organization. If this situation does not lead the other classes to combine for their own protection, it does not seem likely that anything ever will.

Unbalance the Budget

COLEMAN B. CHENEY

GOVERNMENT expenditures should not be reduced. Taxes should not be reduced. Government budgets should not be balanced.

In these days of hectic budget-making, few principles are more important or more unpopular than these three. But let us examine each in turn.

Aside from the fact that we can usually get more for our money by collective spending than by individual spending, expenditures by governments ought, during this time of depression, to be at least as large as, and in most cases even larger than, they have been heretofore. Whatever one may think about the merits of enlarged functions, and therefore finances, of governments in so-called normal times, such a period as this, at any rate, is one for expanding rather than contracting such expenditures.

It is easy, doubtless, when your personal income has been curtailed, and you are obliged to reduce your outlay, to accept the dictum that city, state and national budgets should be reduced also. If you are getting only one-half as much as you did three years ago, it is likely to seem to you reasonable and just that your neighbor who is employed by the state should likewise receive a smaller amount than before. That sounds like justice. But justice really has little to do with the matter. The question is merely one of good sense. If we are honestly desirous of ending the depression, the only question is: Will budget-cutting help or hinder the recovery? The emphatic answer is that it will hinder. Since depression is a phenomenon characterized by the production of more goods than the people who want them are able to buy, recovery is possible only as goods are bought and consumed. The rate of recovery will be in direct proportion to the rate of spending. Decreased spending means delayed prosperity. Every cut in government expenditures means more unemployment. Governments must spend to restore prosperity. It can safely be said that every depression in the past came to an end largely because of the expenditures by governments, since such spending is ordinarily not reduced as much as private spending. The more regular the total expenditures, public and private together, the less serious the depression. And with governments handling an ever larger proportion of the total purchasing power, the opportunity, and therefore the responsibility, of governments for stabilizing industry is correspondingly greater.

It must be understood, however, that this advocacy of maintaining government expenditures refers to the

total amount, not to specific items. Indeed, it would be wise to make changes in the apportionment by increasing those items which would add to the purchasing power of those now unemployed and reducing, if necessary, others which tend to add to savings. It may not be easy to apply this rule, but the rule itself is clear: we do not need more saving; we do need more consumption. To those who raise the question of how this could be done, it may be answered that spending money in those industries where a large part of the total goes directly to labor is likely to increase consumption more than would an equal amount of spending in industries where interest and rent take the larger share.

THE demand for reduced government spending rests chiefly on the desire for lower taxes. But insofar as lower taxes result in reduced spending, they mean increased unemployment. The reduction of some taxes would result in increased savings by individuals at the expense of consumption through government services, and so would delay the turn toward prosperity. And where it did not do that, where it merely transferred the spending from government to individual, it would at best do nothing more than provide employment at one point while it provided unemployment at another. At worst, it would increase unemployment, because such shifts in the demand for goods are almost invariably accompanied, in an anarchistic economic order such as ours, by delays in the effective demand for labor. The law of supply and demand may be powerful, but it is also slow, and meanwhile men may starve. Taxes should not be reduced if reduction means less governmental spending.

But here, as before, and even more emphatically, the rule refers to totals, not to details. While maintaining total revenues, it is not necessary to keep each kind of tax exactly as it has been or to require each group of taxpayers to pay the same amounts as they have been paying. Intelligent zeal in fighting the depression would, in fact, result in lower taxes for those classes of people whose incomes would be spent even if their taxes were less, and in correspondingly higher taxes for those who normally save a considerable part of their incomes. Such a change would increase total consumption and decrease total saving.

A further suggestion, which may be somewhat less important from the social point of view but which is of very great importance to many individuals, is that a moratorium be declared on tax debts in the cases

of the unemployed and others whose incomes are temporarily gone. This could apply only to direct taxes, of course (direct in the legal rather than the economic sense), and hence only to property taxes. Wherever such taxes would otherwise cause a forced sale of the property, a postponement of the payment would be not only reasonable, but wise. The burden on the property owner in the case of a tax-sale would, in almost every instance, be enormous, chiefly in the form of loss of property value—a loss which would be balanced by a gain not for the community as a whole but only for the individual who happened to be lucky enough to buy property at the artificially low price. Furthermore, the community would lose in a very positive way in every instance where the dispossessed citizen was left permanently in a semi-pauperized condition. Tax-sales during depressions all too often have precisely that effect.

THE myth about the prime importance of "balancing the budget" is partly a hangover from the mental habits of pioneer days, when both personal and public expenditures usually *had* to be not more than the revenue; and partly a result of the political ballyhoo of a radio and syndicated-news era. The fact of the matter is that budgets are *never* balanced, though the surplus or deficit may be very small. But what is more important here is that they never *should* be balanced.

In an economic system in which there are recurring cycles of prosperity and depression it would be good sense to have public expenditures in excess of revenues during "hard times," and the opposite during "good times." In periods of war we do exactly that: we spend publicly far more than is received by the treasury in revenue. In other words, we borrow during the war and pay back later. There are three objections which may be advanced against such a policy in time of war: it is a measure which allows the cost of the war to be placed on the small income classes rather than on those with large incomes; it may have a bad psychological effect in making the cost of the war seem, at the time, to be less than it really is; and the borrowing process may raise prices.

But a similar program during a war on depression is quite a different matter. Surely it will not be inferred that this article advocates keeping the tax burden chiefly on the poorer classes; neither does a policy of alternating surplus and deficit necessarily carry that implication. The hysteria of war-time is not a phenomenon of depression, nor is the cost of depression likely to be underestimated as a result of the policy.


The third objection becomes a point in favor of the policy in the case of depression. An increase in prices would be the result of the increased spending and so would be a positive encouragement to business

to buy and to employ. It is precisely in this fact, and in the corresponding decrease in government spending during prosperity (which is a part of the same policy) that the chief merit of the plan lies; it sets up a cycle of government spending counter to that of individual and corporation spending.

THERE may appear to be a conflict between the two proposals of maintaining taxes and unbalancing budgets, for if taxes are not reduced it may seem unlikely that a deficit will occur. A moratorium on tax debts, as suggested, would, however, reduce revenues for certain cities and counties, and in those places a deficit would be the only alternative to the reduction of expenditures, unless higher taxes of the same sort were levied. This is not always either feasible or desirable, since such increases would tend to reduce individual purchasing power wherever it touched small income people. It is worth repeating that if we want to check the depression we should raise the taxes which fall chiefly on high income classes and lower those on small income classes, in order to increase spending and consumption, and to decrease saving. Since local governmental units are usually limited by charter or constitution to property taxes as their chief sources of income, it may be impossible, at least without long delay, to make the desired changes in revenue. Hence a deficit would be the proper means of keeping up expenditures. More important, however, is the use of a deficit to permit actual increases in expenditures during depressions—increases beyond the amount which can reasonably be met by current revenues. These increases would usually occur in construction programs for roads, bridges, housing projects, public buildings, etc.

Budgets would be much more intelligible if a distinction were made between what are known to accountants as "capital expenditures" and "revenue expenditures." In a well-managed private business this distinction is invariably made. It recognizes that certain items, such as the cost of a building, which will last for many years, should not be charged entirely to the fiscal period in which the expenditure happens to occur, while payments for salaries and supplies should be so charged. In budgets which make this distinction, deficits and surpluses would almost always be limited to the capital outlays. Borrowing during depression would be mostly for capital expenditures; surpluses during prosperity would be used to amortize those debts.

Whatever may be the plan that is finally adopted to turn the tide, it has little chance of succeeding unless it stops trying to defeat an under-consumption depression by reducing consumption still further, and unless it abandons the blind and false idea that annual budgets must be balanced.



Not in the

German Socialists and Schleicher

Rudolf Breitscheid, the German Social-Democratic leader, has outlined the view of his party toward the new German Chancellor as follows: "It is true that General von Schleicher differs in many respects from his predecessor. In particular, he is much more skillful and adroit in the handling of both men and affairs. He has more sense of reality than Chancellor von Papen, who brought with him into politics the heedless and off-hand ways of a gentleman rider. He knows that there are some hurdles that cannot be taken simply with a bold leap, and tries to find a way around them or to break them down. . . . But the readiness to make concessions that the Chancellor of the Reich has shown in small things cannot alter the attitude of Social-Democrats towards him. Herr von Schleicher is not exactly a chip of the same block as von Papen, but the timber comes out of the same forest, and as he has expressly taken over the economic program of his predecessors he has committed himself to the same policy of seeking a solution on capitalist lines and has rejected the Socialist proposals and demands which our party formulated and placed in the forefront of its propaganda. . . . Schleicher can therefore expect no support from the Social-Democrats."

R. F. C. and Hospitals

Pointing out that 110 hospitals were forced to close, during the year 1931, for lack of funds, Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota has introduced a bill giving to hospitals the right to borrow from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

500 Stolen Votes

How "deliberately planned fraud" stole 500 votes from the Socialist and Communist Parties in New York City and divided them between Republicans and Democrats was exposed by United States Attorney George Z. Medalie after an examination by federal investigators. Medalie compared totals recorded on election machines with returns recorded by the board of elections, and found 447 Socialist and 53 Communist votes in Republican and Democratic columns. The discrepancies occurred in votes for senators and congressmen. Medalie branded it "gross, outrageous, obvious dishonesty." Investigations will continue.

Ford's Lobbyists

John H. Connaughton, a Washington lawyer, has filed a sensational suit against Henry Ford and others, from whom he demands an accounting for his share of the \$4,000,000 Ford paid since Dec. 3, 1930, in an effort to get a lease on the U. S. government nitrate plant and power at Muscle Shoals.

Why No Revolution

"Newspapers and not religion appear to be America's opium for the people, to judge by an editorial in *Editor & Publisher*," declares the Federated Press in reporting an editorial in the former journal in which Editor Marlen Pew ponders the question why there has not been more rioting and even revolutionary outbreaks among the country's unemployed. Mr. Pew concludes: "That the masses of unemployed people, with uncounted legions reduced to the very edge of creature necessity, have remained calm and with no thought of blind violent resistance against the government, as so often happens in such extremities, will some day be credited to intelligent newspaper leadership and a rational and trustworthy reporting service."

Honor His Honor

"It's no crime for a white man to associate with Negroes; I have some very good friends among the Negroes myself; case dismissed." In these words Municipal Judge John Gutknecht, just elevated to the bench by the November election, told Chicago police to stop picking up white people found mingling with Negroes in radical demonstrations in the city's black belt.

French S. P. and Paul-Boncour

The events leading up to the rejection of Paul-Boncour's bid to the French Socialist Party to participate in the government are shown by the party's official statement, issued after a frank talk between the new Premier and MM. Blum, Auriol, Renaudel, and Lebas, of the Socialist movement. Thanking Paul-Boncour, who is a "renegade" Socialist turned moderate conservative, the statement goes on to say that the party executive committee is "nevertheless of the opinion that the program that Paul-Boncour regards as capable of being put immediately into operation does not approximate sufficiently the program laid down by the party at its Congress in June to justify the question of participation in the government being brought before the National Council of the party."

Relativity

The death of Calvin Coolidge got front-page space—and plenty of it—in most papers. In the Communist *Daily Worker* the story got four inches on the second page under the caption: "Coolidge, Labor Enemy, is Dead."

A Mortgaged Country

Americans are struggling under a debt burden of 171 billion dollars. This debt was incurred at 1929 levels and prices have since dropped about one-third. The per capita debt is \$1,400. The annual interest at five per cent amounts to \$8,551,000,000, approximately \$70 per capita. The farmer has suffered most because of the drastic deflation (63 per cent) in farm prices.

A Word to the Wise

Warning that "the American people are not Haitians, and the use of armed force won't feed nor subdue them," the People's Lobby, of which Professor John Dewey is president, in an open letter to President-elect Roosevelt, declared in part: "The American people did not acquiesce in our entry into the World War to make America safe for starvation. . . . We are today the only nation in the world having a sufficient national income to permit a decent standard of living to every family—if properly distributed. Government alone can effect such a distribution through taxation. . . . No esoteric economics are needed to change the distribution of income, and no use of armed forces will remedy the present maldistribution."

Canadian Aged

The old age of 67,309 persons has been made at least moderately secure by Canada up to June 30, 1932, according to the Dominion Labor Department. The average pension amounted to slightly over \$19 per month, the maximum allowance being \$20.

The Naval Mind

The region about Fort Schuyler is being sought by New York City for a park. Among the leaders in this movement is the Jewish philanthropist, Nathan Straus, Jr. The site is also sought by naval men for a marine school. The *Marine Journal* sneers at Straus, this "apostle of free milk," for seeking playground facilities for New York's poor. It would merely be a place "where button-hole makers and pants pressers could plot their next walk-out." The navalist adds: "I suppose the Jews from the sweat-shops must have a park to pollute even if the country must go without seamen."

Headlines

A Dangerous Bill

A bill is pending in the Senate to extend the grounds for deporting alien Communists. It sets up mere doctrine and membership in the Communist Party, not overt acts, as reasons for deportation.

Forrest Bailey

Forrest Bailey, former co-director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who suffered a paralytic stroke in July, and recovered to the point where he was able to walk again in October, recently had a second stroke. While the attending physician is hopeful, Mr. Bailey's condition is critical.

Negroes and Relief

T. Arnold Hill, Director of the Department of Industrial Relations of the National Urban League, today started on a tour of investigation of the Negro's participation in relief projects which are in operation throughout the country. The National Urban League, determined to bring to bear every legitimate means to see that Negroes are receiving an equitable distribution of work and material relief, has commissioned Mr. Hill to make a thorough study of existing conditions, especially in the South and Southwest.

Canada Co-ops Sales

Owing to the depressed condition of the coal-mining industry, in which the majority of its members are employed, sales of the British Canadian Coöperative Society, of Sydney Mines and Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, the most important Consumers' Society in Canada, decreased by \$104,036, to \$572,918 during the half-year ended August 3, 1932. Membership was 3,402 and net surplus \$53,374, out of which a dividend of 9 per cent was paid on members' purchases. The society's share capital now amounts to \$139,418 and its reserve fund to \$71,449.

Those Child Workers

"The supreme duty of the nation is to see to it that the children of America have the advantages of our schools," declares the Weekly News Service of the American Federation of Labor. It argues that the 2,000,000 boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 18 who were found "gainfully employed" by the census of 1930—a few of whom have lost their jobs since—ought to be in school. It demands that Congress "prohibit the employment of children in either direct or indirect expenditure of the billions of dollars of federal appropriations."

Forty Years of Polish Socialism

The Polish Socialist Party, which was organized in Paris 40 years ago and which labored against the oppression of czarism, has recently celebrated its fortieth anniversary by a drive to increase membership and to withstand more vigorously the terrific oppression to which it, along with all other radical groups, is being subjected under the present dictatorship. At the same time, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Socialist women's paper, *Glos Kobiet*, is being noted. In Poland, Socialist women are perhaps more active in many ways than the men.

League of Nations Contest

Registrations for the sixth annual National Competitive Examination on the League of Nations, open to high school students in the 48 states, were invited in an announcement sent out by the Educational Committee of the League of Nations, 6 East 39 Street, New York City. The examination will take place on March 24, and first prize, as in other years, will be a free trip to Europe, featuring a visit to Geneva. Cash awards will be given for the next six best papers, and local and regional prizes will be awarded by individual branches of the Association.

Work Creation in Denmark

In view of the tremendous increase of unemployment in Denmark, says the International Federation of Trade Unions, where the total of unemployment has risen from 39,000 to 150,000 since September, 1931, the Danish government has found it necessary to take energetic steps. First came the appointment of a Special Committee of Seven to fight unemployment. Stauning, the Social-Democratic Prime Minister, has announced extensive plans for public works, such as the draining of lakes and marshes, the cultivation of heaths, and the building of roads, docks, etc. The local authorities are to receive grants or loans to enable them to resume building activities, and they are also going to be empowered to set on foot public works programs of their own. To finance these large-scale plans, a public loan is to be floated, and unemployment benefit funds are to be diverted to this purpose. Because negotiations with employers for a general voluntary reduction of working hours and the prohibition of overtime have broken down, a bill is being prepared by the government which will make mandatory these measures of relief.

Pacifist Must Stay Home

Otto Lahmann Russbult, noted German pacifist, who was scheduled to address Danish peace workers under the auspices of the Danish sections of the Union for the League of Nations and the Women's International League, was informed by the German government that he must surrender his passport and remain in Germany. The reason supposed to have motivated this action was the fear of possible effect on the German arms equality demand.

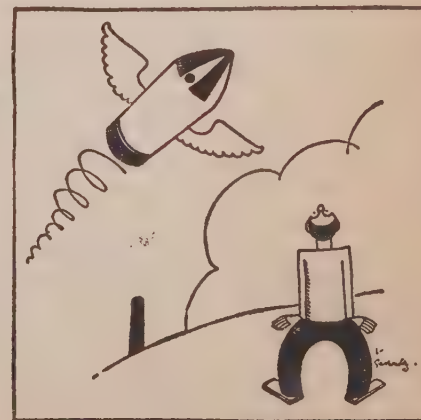
Evicted

The number of unemployed thrown out into the streets with their furniture for inability to pay rent is increasing. In New York landlords filed 27,387 dispossession petitions in a single month. Final orders were issued in 17,646 cases, an increase of 4,000 over last year. Tenant strikes are becoming more frequent and the police are encountering increasing difficulty in evictions due to united action of the tenants.

Without Benefit of Law

The American Arbitration Association endeavors to settle industrial disputes of all kinds outside the courts. Proceedings are presided over by an arbitrator who is an expert in the particular field in question. There are no precedents, and technicalities are barred in an effort to reach an equitable adjustment of difficulties. The Association is represented in 1,700 cities. In New York it has a panel of nearly 1,000 arbitrators from all businesses, trades, and professions.

The Peace Dove



Campaña de Gracia, Barcelona.

When Religion Fails

BRUCE CURRY

IS religion gaining or losing as a stimulus and resource for the achievement of a better social order? If it has any vital contribution to make toward this end, why is it ignored or discarded by so many socially-minded people? What kind of religion, if any, is really usable and helpful in the tasks of social reconstruction?

Here are five friends of mine whose attitudes may throw light upon these questions. They are chosen because they seem typical of whole groups in our day. The first is a university graduate who would describe himself as a social radical. He is a rather effective worker for economic justice. But he takes no stock in religion. He has heard the arguments for the values which religion might supply, but they leave him unmoved. He has never personally experienced religion in the sense of any conscious fellowship with, or dependence upon, God. Religion, as he has observed it, seems to him intellectually superstitious, ethically stultifying, practically superfluous.

The second is one whose social vision and passion had their origin in religious fellowship and in personal religious faith. He is a product of liberal Christianity. But as he has become engrossed in the practical machinery of social welfare and social change, both religious belief and religious feeling have become attenuated almost to the point of disappearance. He no longer draws upon them in any vital sense. You may say that he has gone humanist and is essaying "religion without God"; or that he leans toward Elmer Davis's position of "God without religion", i.e., that God has become so impersonal and abstract that no sense of mutual relationship with him is possible—or necessary.

My third friend, who started with both religious and social fervor, has gradually relinquished his interest and faith in social reformation and has retreated into a highly personal and mystical religious experience. He is not a Barthian, though he bears some of the earmarks. He is not a Buchmanite, though he might be quite at home in the Oxford Group. At all events, religion failed to hold him to the task of social regeneration.

The fourth case is that of one who was reared in a sort of religion which is conventionally adjusted to the status quo. He remains a devout adherent of that religion. It challenges almost not at all his benighted social attitudes and practices. He deplores the breakdown of confidence in the good old American ways and institutions. He is convinced that "the

church should keep out of politics and business." Religion should buttress "those fundamental principles which have made our country great."

My fifth friend has deep religious sensibilities, keen ethical insight and high commitment to the improvement of human relationships. He has broken more than one lance in the fight to establish justice and good-will as the law of human life. But he has become disillusioned as to man's ability to rise to the heights of love when socially applied, and hence doubtful of any Kingdom of God that may come on earth as in Heaven. Yet here, presumably, was the central contribution of the Christian religion to our modern social struggle. It was our mistake, he would say, to have made this interpretation. The chief function of religion lies in a different quarter. But for many this will seem to increase the irrelevance of religion, and especially the principles of Jesus, to the remaking of the social order.

IF my point is well taken, that the attitudes of my five friends are representative of increasing numbers of people, the case for religion as a socially redemptive force looks rather gloomy. Reviewing the cases cited, we notice a striking drift into two camps, those who espouse the cause of social righteousness without any felt need of religion, and those who embrace a kind of religion which is either entirely or relatively ineffective in conquering the injustice, greed and hate which threaten our civilization. And each camp unwittingly succeeds in augmenting the ranks of the other. The kind of religion to which we have just referred alienates thousands of younger and older people, sending them over to the side of non-religious social crusading; while the spirit and methods of the "godless radicals", together with the heart-breaking slowness of all moral improvement, drives hordes of sensitive souls to the quiet of a comfortable religion which runs in neutral and avoids all the grinding of gears involved in getting trucks out of ditches.

If this unfortunate drift is to be checked, there must come a great awakening on both sides, an awakening to the fact that the two great commandments cannot be divorced: the love between man and God, and the love between man and man. What has been happening is that many modern-minded folk have despaired of any relationship with God that could be described as fellowship because they could not discover or believe in any such Being. Hence they have sought to substitute the loving of their neighbors and

the attempt to establish relationships of love between warring groups of men. Their patron saint is old Abou ben Adhem who, when his name did not appear among those who loved the Lord, asked that he be inscribed as one who loved his fellowmen. According to Leigh Hunt's poem this was all right with the Lord. But it is not really all right because it confuses ethics with religion, and the attempt to substitute ethics for religion soon plays out, because men simply will not love their neighbors as themselves, except as they are illumined and empowered by their love for God. Failure to see this constitutes the fallacy which has caused much of our social crusading to fall upon barren days and has swelled the ranks of the "tired radicals" who give the human race up as hopeless. In the first flush of any fight for justice or freedom, much good-will between man and man can be engendered without any recourse to religion—witness the Russian experiment. But in the end cynicism about human nature gets in its paralyzing work, and post-campaign selfishness completes the defeat of the original dream. Apart from religious experience we have nothing which can deal drastically enough and redemptively enough with the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of the human heart. When will this noble but non-religious army of social reformers awaken from its dogmatic but non-theistic slumbers?

ON the other hand, those who profess religion must rouse from their sleep-walking attempt to claim some mystical fellowship with God which issues in no practical and courageous attempt to deepen the quality and widen the extent of love and good-will between men of clashing groups. Here is the spectacle of the majority of religious people, claiming to love God and thus to possess the resources I have referred to as necessary for motivating love for man, who nevertheless do not proceed to demonstrate in practice that they love their neighbors as themselves. Small wonder that their religion is ingrown and anemic, impotent to save either themselves or the social order. Less wonder that it alienates increasing numbers of social workers, convincing them that religion is excess baggage. One would think that the Christians might be stabbed awake by the words of their Master: "If ye love them that love you what reward have ye? do not even the publicans the same?" Or by that later word from the New Testament: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen cannot love God whom he hath not seen." Yet one can understand how the sacrificial implications of that world *love* have been diluted and restricted until they have no electrifying power. When will these pious but purblind religious people awaken to the true meaning of full-orbed religion and to the sorry travesty which they represent?

The question as to whether religion offers any indispensable contributions to those engaged in humanity's social tasks thus depends for its answer upon what sort of religion we have in mind. If it be truncated religion, ethically vitiated, socially blind, intellectually disreputable, the answer is clearly in the negative. If it be full-grown religion, intellectually reasonable, socially alert, ethically sensitive, the answer is as patently in the affirmative.

This leads me to say that the picture gallery of my friends would be incomplete did I not add two more subjects who represent groups which I like to think are also on the increase. One is a young social radical who had carried on formerly with only mild contempt for religion and religious people, but who has recently discovered both the need for religious faith and dynamic if social reconstruction is to be accomplished, and the sort of religion that alone can meet that need. The other is an older friend, reared with narrow religious conceptions and limited social vision, who has progressively and courageously broadened and reconstructed both. He owes much of his social insight and passion to this developing religious experience, and much of his increasing discovery of God and fellowship with Him to his ventures in the social struggle. The interaction has been beautifully balanced, much as in the cases of two of the most conspicuous social workers of our time, Kagawa and Gandhi. It is to the increase of these last two types that we must look with greatest hope either for the future of religion or for the abiding success of social reconstruction.

The Appeal to Moses

A PLAGUE sweeps over Egypt; yet the Sphinx
Continues silent. Now the scourge of drouth
Consumes us, and the Nile's wide passage shrinks
Under the tempest from the torrid South,
Leaving a waste of sand.

Our flocks have perished and our fields lie bare,
Our children hunger and can not be fed . . .
Is there another country anywhere
To which a people can escape for bread
That is not contraband?

Deliver us, Messiah! Lead us on
Across the deserts of Arabia—
Beyond the cedar hills of Lebanon,
Beyond the valleys of Samaria,
Into that Holy Land!

CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN



The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.

Cuck-Coup d'Etat

Coup d'Etat—The Technique of Revolution. By Curzio Malaparte. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$2.50.

OBERVE at once that this book presents, not *a* but *the* technique of revolution. Note that here is a man, otherwise sane, who actually believes that there can be such a thing as a standard means of seizing power. Take a look at the jacket and discover that the same yardstick is applied to Hitler, Trotsky, Stalin, Mussolini, De Rivera. Your first inspiration will be that to which the present reviewer succumbed—to mock this reverent dogma of revolt, give it a silly title, and say frankly that the man is daft.

That will be your *first* impulse. But make no mistake. When you have carefully digested the work, pondered every word, followed the author through his checkered career as soldier, fascist revolutionary, diplomat, and scientific authority on how to stand 'em up against a wall at sunrise, you will have a second impression. And that will be precisely like the first. Somewhere in his career, a reckless enemy not knowing to what extent he was robbing the human race of a genius, must have hit Malaparte a deadening blow, squarely upon his bump of ratiocination.

Why, then, bother with the book at all? Chiefly because it says in positive tones, illuminated by the glare of incendiary happenings in a dozen cauldrons of rebellion, the same things that are being said with profound assurance by a lot of bright young radicals and cynics all around the world. Because, in addition, as history has proved ever since the days of Gavrilo Princip and Serajevo, every now and then your brooding pink bohemian gets the itch for doing things and vindicates Goethe's justifiable statement that nothing is so much to be feared as ignorance in action.

Signor Malaparte—né Suckert—firmly asserts that there is a simple, invincible way in which to oust a government and take it over. It does not matter what the form of government, whether the dictatorship which is to replace such contemptible illusions as democracy and liberalism (he has never heard of *radical* democratic theories) is a dictatorship of the Left or of the Right. There is hardly a government in all Europe which at one time or another since the War could not have been overthrown, had it not been that the revolutionists—Signor Malaparte seems sure that there are forceful revolutionists in every country—did not know the correct revolutionary formula. For everywhere, the only defense against the *coup d'etat* is the police defense; and police suppression is futile against the one and only means of revolution.

But the book is not only a warning to governments which have stupidly fed themselves on the illusion of security. It is a revelation to those innumerable pedants who may have thought, the idiots, that the condition of a country economically, psychologically, and politically might have something to do with revolutionary success or failure. No; it doesn't matter an iota whether the

place be Moscow in 1917 or Great Britain in 1932. It doesn't matter whether we are at the end of a wearisome war or at the beginning of new conflict. It is of absolutely no consequence whether a nation is tied up with installment purchases, precarious mortgages, abundance or starvation; whether it is stirred by irredentist nationalism, racial solidarity, religious irritation, emotional loyalty to existing leadership, or the opposite of all these factors. The way to revolt is just one of those things. . . .

Malaparte begins his description of the perfect *coup d'etat* by an analysis of Lenin's services to the Russian revolution as compared with those of Trotsky. Lenin, he says, was the strategist of the revolt as a whole; but Trotsky was the man who developed and drove through the technique of the seizure which brought the Bolsheviks into control. Lenin, it seems, possessed the folly to think that circumstances had something to do with the hour and place and method of the overturn; but Trotsky knew better. Lenin wanted the whole people to become imbued with the revolutionary urge; not so the erudite Leon. What the people wanted was of little consequence. He was obliged to agree, however, with Lenin's dictum that the revolution must have a strong upsurge of organized sentiment behind it; but the main thing was to organize the shock-troops of attack, only a thousand of whom were wanted. These soldiers, sailors and workers simply made a surprise onslaught (following the plan of Ovsienko) on the strategic centers of control—less the government itself than the electric power stations, communications facilities, transport, and a few highly essential avenues of traffic. In a jiffy all was over. The technique of the *coup d'etat* had been discovered; Malaparte's theory, and incidentally the Bolshevik revolution, was secure.

It was because Bela Kun, Dr. Kapp, and other would-be saviors failed to observe the Trotsky formula that they failed. Trotsky himself, when opposed to Stalin, did not make good; but that was due to his forgetfulness coupled with the readiness of Stalin to understand how the same technique which rides a minority into power can keep a similar minority from following suit. From these adventurous demonstrations of eternal dogma, Malaparte wanders through the maze of the Polish situation with its ebullient Pilsudski, says a few kind words for Bonaparte, and recounts in vivid eloquence the ruthlessness of Mussolini, his salvation of Italy, and the central desirability of violence. If he contradicts himself a bit by his assertion that the Blackshirts had really conquered and consolidated Rome before the Fascist march—which certainly resembles the Trotsky technique not at all—that must not be allowed to dissipate the pristine doctrine. Malaparte is a poet and must be granted a certain poetic license.

He is right in all seriousness, however, so far as his judgment of the Trotsky technique in *Russia* is concerned. His folly consists in his ridiculous assumption—a tenet which many a fourth-grade dictator in fascist and communist ranks alike is wont to voice—that what works in one set of conditions will work in another. Indeed he insists that the *coup d'etat* is entirely inde-

pendent of that tide in the affairs of men which an early Roman dictator could not keep hidden from one Brutus.

Of the ethics involved in titanic social upheavals, in the dispatch of adversaries through torture and murder to obtain some real or fancied social gain, Malaparte, unlike some other sincere believers in violence, is silent. He has, however, stern contempt for Tolstoyans; not merely that critical spirit which the proponents of quietistic non-violence so greatly need, but scorn for everything that smacks of a shrinking from nature in the raw. This cocksure "authority" on revolution and defense by power concentrated in strategic force is so illiterate as never to have heard, apparently, of Gandhi. He knows nothing of the long series of cases in authentic history in which organized mass non-violence has wrested liberal constitutions from despotic oppressors, or by which regimes and institutions have been defended against something of the very technique he so adores. He has never dreamed of examining the history of Latin American revolutions, in so many of which Trotsky's methods almost in duplicate have failed wretchedly, even from the "practical" point of view, because conditions could not warrant them. Of these deep pools of mass mood and silent conviction, examples of which are Egypt's boycott of Britain and Ireland's successful resistance to British conscription during the War—from a study of which many a rash revolutionist could learn much about the technique of social change either slow or rapid—our radiant doctrine is apparently quite unconscious. It would be highly interesting, and profitable from a pedagogical point of view, if he and Trotsky and even the magical Il Duce himself could be transported to Japan in this year of grace and set to work to prove their universal theory. Or, for that matter, to the United States. It is not realism, but madness, to ignore the colossal forces of industrial mobilization, population homogeneity, cultural unity, or even middle-class obsessions on which, in the main, and hardly ever on bayonets and barricades, power hinges in this complex modern world.

D. A.

A Primer in Economics

The Road Ahead—A Primer of Capitalism and Socialism. By Harry W. Laidler. Crowell. \$1.00.

EVER since *New Russia's Primer* appeared, Americans have been clamoring for something to describe for children the American scene, giving them a fundamental grasp of the background of capitalism. *The Road Ahead* is the nearest approach to Ilin's classic that has yet appeared.

Recognizing the groundwork of romanticism and false teaching of history and economics which is given most American children, Dr. Laidler has been obliged to go further back in history than the Russian primer in order to break down misconceptions before presenting his case. After briefly tracing social institutions from the clan to modern industrial society, and interspersing the discourse with frequent anecdotes and illustrations drawn from his own childhood or situations familiar to children today, he goes into a careful explanation of the present social structure which is of interest to anyone whose knowledge of economics is slight. He continues to show the logical future development into socialism, via the government corporation and coöperative. Analogies are drawn from the lunch room, the basketball court, the public school and playground.

"The Coming of Big Business" and "The Trust Appears" are chapters in the book which are especially to be commended. One adult of my acquaintance who was permitted to graduate from one of the better known women's colleges without any economics

tells me that she learned in this book for the first time what a corporation is and how it differs from a partnership. The tale of the independent storekeeper and "The Big Pond and Pond Company" covers perfectly the plight of the small business man and his inevitable absorption by the trust.

There is one general criticism of this book which I have had confirmed from several sources. The contents, it seems to me, would be understandable and interesting to anyone between the ages of 12 and 18 seeking an elementary approach to economic problems; the phraseology is frequently appropriate only to those under 12. If it were possible to keep the most admirable simplicity of style and graphic illustration without being quite so juvenile, the book would receive the wider recognition which it deserves.

With the addition of a chapter dealing with the labor movement and its struggles and placing more emphasis upon the class nature of our society, this book would be useful for workers' education classes, provided, of course, that the juvenile phraseology were eliminated.

Dr. Laidler is to be congratulated for his excellent pioneering in a field which Socialists have sorely neglected. If this book could be made required reading for every school child in the United States, it would make the task of building a strong intelligent Socialist movement infinitely easier.

ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

Down on the Farm

The Social Economics of Agriculture. By Wilson Gee. Macmillan Company. \$3.60.

WHEN the Roosevelt Country Life Commission made its study 25 years ago, there were in existence scarcely a half-dozen books dealing with the economic and social phases of the farm question. Today a list of country life books prepared for rather general use contains nearly 300 titles, and is incomplete at that.

Dr. Gee, who is Professor of Rural Economics and Director of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Virginia, writes a book that we may "view the agricultural problem not simply as an economic, sociological, historical or governmental one, but in the combined perspective of all these approaches."

The scope and range of Dr. Gee's book is indicated by the titles of the half-dozen sections into which the volume is divided. "The Agricultural Problem" covers a broad survey of the history and status of agriculture both in Europe and North America, as well as the subject of "farm relief". "Economic Considerations" includes farm management, land utilization, ownership and tenancy, farm labor and wages, credit, insurance, marketing and prices. "Social Factors" comprehends population trends, standard of living, health, recreation, public welfare, the interests of youth, the organization of the rural community, and rural leadership. "Farmers' Organizations" deals also with the Department of Agriculture and the great system of agricultural extension work. Under "Political Problems" we find the farmer and government, tariff and taxation covered. The section of "Rural Institutions" takes up the rural town, farm family, church, library, country newspaper and rural schools. The author shows that among America's 20 leading industries agriculture, in 1928 at least, still ranked first in estimated investment, number of employees, and value of products.

The volume is well written, not too technical and thoroughly up-to-date. There is sufficient history for background and au-

thentic generalizations that give us a picture of the breadth and range of the agricultural problem. The tabular proof is not too elaborate but enough to indicate leading facts and to serve for reference. The list of books appended to each chapter is an adequate guide to the best we have in the way of easily available material for fuller study. The quotations are liberal and extremely helpful in bringing the student to sources.

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

Handbook for Parents

Our Children: A Handbook for Parents. Edited by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg. Viking Press. 348 pp. \$2.75.

THIS book grew out of the questions asked by parents who came to the Child Study Association of America seeking help and guidance in the training of their children. To meet these expressed needs, the Association has sought to produce a handbook in which parents can conveniently find whatever is most authoritative in current thought. In formulating plans for the volume, the editors have kept constantly in mind the normal growth of children and its ordinary deviations under the varying circumstances that surround child life today. They have turned for assistance to workers in every field that relates to parents' needs and interests, so that the resulting book may fairly be said to represent the best current knowledge and the most expert present-day opinion.

This Week's Anniversary

SAMUEL GOMPERS

BORN JANUARY 27, 1850

Wall Street today is a blind fool astride a wild engine of terrific power. . . . Wall Street operates blindly amidst a chaos of forces seeking profits. . . . Wall Street must be deprived of its power, its roots dug out of our industrial fabric. . . . Strikes, such as those on the railroads, in the mines, in the textile mills, cannot be understood by looking at the surface. . . . Labor is holding the line for humanity, contending with all of its might, with its very life, for the great ideal of service—for the great practical necessity, production primarily for the satisfaction of human needs. Labor is contending against the continued enthronement of profit as the autocrat of our destinies. If labor's line is broken the public welfare will be engulfed. . . . The gains made by the organized labor movement in this country have generally been wrung from the employing class. What workmen of America have obtained in improved conditions, higher wages, shorter hours of labor, was not handed to them on a silver platter. They have had to organize, they have had to show their teeth, they have had to strike, they have had to go hungry, and to make sacrifices. . . .

—From *Addresses and Editorials*.

Four main sections compose the volume. The first deals with The Child's Growth and Development, including such topics as What a Child Is Born With and Healthy Attitudes toward Health. The second section, on The Child at Home, includes chapters on Discipline—Old and New, Anger and Fear as Assets, What is Sex Education? The Meaning of Maturity, and related topics. The third section covers topics related to The Child at School. A final section, on The Child in the Outside World, deals with Loosening Family Ties, In Quest of Life Values in the Machine Age, Religion and the Child's Life, and other topics. Bibliographies and an index complete the volume.

The presentation is clear and understandable. Parents who are intelligently seeking for light will do well to take this text as a fundamental foundation for further reading. But it is hardly to be expected that an accurate summary of current theories in this field should avoid mutual contradictions between authorities, or should reach clear and definite conclusions on all perplexing problems. Popenoe, for example, summarizes thus the development of individuality:

"The thousands of genes which were present in the original fertilized egg cell . . . continue to guide and direct his development into an adult, and to carry him on to the end of his life, which is largely determined, barring accidents, by their activity." (p. 42.)

Bernard Glueck, on the other hand, finds the roots of personality not in genes but in early emotional experiences:

Hidden sources of discontent and maladjustment, or of harmony and self-adjustment, at least among adults, are commonly not very dependent on immediate issues. Since they are historical and refer largely to experiences of infancy and childhood, they cannot be reconditioned through a manipulation of contemporary issues. . . . To understand them one does not need to have recourse to traditional theories of religious or biologic predestination. (pp. 175, 180.)

Such contradictions may arise out of the over-confidence of specialists. Perhaps a truer reflection of the present state of knowledge about many problems of personality-building is Adolf Meyer's shower of perplexing questions in his chapter on The Meaning of Maturity.

HORNELL HART

CORRESPONDENCE

Don't Let the Mooney Case Die

THE Governor of California ~~has~~ the Tom Mooney case is closed. Eighteen thousand Californians, in a recent mass-meeting, shouted "No!" The Wickersham Committee report, revealing that the Mooney prosecution was a frame-up, should declare an even louder "No," but unless financial support is immediately forthcoming, Governor Rolfe may be proven right.

Tom Mooney writes us from his cell: "If my plans fail now there is no telling when I will have another chance to leave here alive. There is a possibility, at this time, of forcing the courts and the Governor to act, if the aroused and aggressive mass pressure of public opinion for my pardon is crystallized immediately. I make this desperate appeal to you for immediate help. I beg of you not to fail me."

Please send some contribution, however small, to the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475, San Francisco, California.

LUCIA TRENT, *Chairman*

RALPH CHEYNEY, *Secretary*

Artists' and Writers' Committee for Tom Mooney.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Church and Industry

UNDER the auspices of the New England Regional Committee on Social Relations an Institute on the Church and Industry is to be held on Monday, January 23, at the First Congregational Church of Willimantic, Connecticut. In this all-day conference a realistic examination of New England industry in the light of the principles of Jesus will be made. Any church of Rhode Island or Connecticut is invited to send representatives. Among the speakers so far scheduled are: James M. Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches; Prof. Phillips Bradley, of the economics department of Amherst College; Dr. John M. Phillips, of Center Church, Hartford; Rev. David N. Beach, of the First Congregational Church, Springfield; and Prof. Ralph Harlow, of Smith College.

Notice to Our Readers

An index of the 1931 issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW has been prepared and will be sent to all libraries that have been receiving the magazine during the past year. Individual subscribers who wish copies may obtain them upon request.

Who's Who in This Issue

Frank Underhill is professor of history in the University of Toronto and is the editor of the "Canadian Forum."

Coleman B. Cheney is professor of economics at Skidmore College.

Bruce Curry is professor of practical theology in Union Theological Seminary.

Carl John Bostelmann contributes to many journals of poetry and is the author of "April Comes Early" and other volumes of verse.

Andrew J. Biemiller is educational director for the Socialist Party in Milwaukee.

Kenyon L. Butterfield, former president of Michigan State College, is a lecturer and adviser on rural affairs and has written several volumes on the subject.

Hornell Hart is professor of social economy at Bryn Mawr College and is the author of "The Science of Social Relations."

World Tomorrow Radio Hour

Station WEVD

Wednesday

1300K—231M

Jan. 25, 5:45 P. M.

Speaker: Devere Allen

Other weekly features of Station WEVD:

The Group Theater, Sunday, 8:30 P.M.

Michael Strange, Tuesday, 5:15 P.M.

Hendrik Van Loon, Friday, 8:15 P.M.

Birth Control Radio Series, Monday, 5:00 P.M.



THE LAST WORD

SOMEONE said, years ago, that the country could well afford to maintain one Ella Wheeler Wilcox, but if she were five, Something Would Have to Be Done about the other four. That summarizes the way Eccentricus feels with regard to S. Parkes Cadman.

Not that I intend to quarrel with the gentleman, who has disarmed me—by writing, once upon a time, a charming letter of appreciation about one of this department's columns. (Brought that in rather neatly, methinks.) No, not quarrel; merely marvel.

I might pass over Dr. Cadman's reply to an inquirer about Ramsay MacDonald's Cabinet, in which he declares that "Mr. MacDonald will not sacrifice his convictions for the sake of office," and his assurance that the result of the National government "is a strong and cohesive Cabinet which has already enabled the country to turn the corner." For everyone except authorities knows that England's exports and general well-being have markedly dropped under the present regime's "sound" ministrations, while unemployment has gone to new high levels. If Britain has turned any corners, she has done it—as George Fitch used to say automobiles got about the streets of Boston—only by having hinges in the middle so that, at every narrow turn, they might buckle up, get around the corner, and, unhinged, reel drunkenly down the street to the next crisis.

But I grew a trifle apoplectic when I read, in the daily quota of wisdom one fair morning, a question from "a somewhat anxious parent" who wanted to know, in the good Doctor's opinion, "What are the questions a young man who is determined to go his own way in life as a radical Socialist should ask himself?" Space—luckily—forbids the reproduction here of all the oracle's reply. But these are the choicest suggestions: "Is there any real gain in getting something for nothing, or is the moral advantage of the something more desirable than the moral degradation of the man who gets it for nothing?" "Have we passed beyond the ageless idea of the family, or is it still the basic foundation of society?" "Is the present determination to eliminate all competition and make things easy all round a force for genuine betterment?" Of course, these questions settle it, for: "When your son has candidly answered the foregoing and similar queries he may discover that it is sometimes better to endure the evils we have than fly to those we know not of. The individualism he abhors has its faults, but these are mild indeed compared with those of the collectivism he advocates."

In a certain sense I think I know that son. And I know what he will do. He will, first of all, pause in astonished wonder. He will next review the true extent of capitalism's collapse. He will then take off his right shoe, kick hard against a rock, go out behind the barn to let his toes cool off, and compose a series of questions for his elders. They will read in part: "What are the moral values, respectively, of: (a) a stagnant puddle; (b) life on Mars; (c) a vivid imagination?" "What is the ethical value of bay rum sung to the air of Rachmaninoff's Prelude in Mexican jumping beans?" And he will add: "P. S. These queries, I admit, may seem abstruse and even irrelevant; but we must keep the discussion on a high intellectual plane."

SOMETIMES it becomes easy to understand why Mark Twain, after a valiant effort to read Sir Walter Scott, put in this fashion his rebellion: "Than read further, he said, he would 'rather be damned to John Bunyan's heaven.' And what a fate!

Eccentricus

By KIRBY PAGE

Author: National Defense

Editor: The World Tomorrow

A BOOK that is a much needed pick-me-up in these trying times. It is not a "cure-all" for the ailments that harass the body and the mind, but a guide to a way of life that the author has found to be satisfactory. It is a book that will help you help yourself and the world.

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